

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 OES-03 ERDA-05

CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 NRC-05 ( ISO ) W

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R 110125Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1501

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USMISSION EEC BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USLO PEKING

ERDA GERMANTOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9291

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, JA

SUBJ: MIKI VISIT PAPER: NPT

EA/J FOR SHERMAN

1. BACKGROUND-- GOJ FAILED TO RAIFY NPT FIVE YEARS AFTER SIGNING DESPITE HIGH PRIORITY PM MIKI ATTACHED TO ACHIEVING RATIFICATION OF THE NPT DURING RECENT DIET SESSION, HE RELUCTANTLY SHELVED THE RATIFICATION BILL UNTIL AT LEAST FALL SESSION AND, MORE LIKELY, UNTIL REGULAR JANUARY DIET MEETING. MIKI'S HOPES WERE THWARTED BY CONTRADICTORY DEMANDS FROM THE SOCIALISTS AND FROM THE CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE LDP. AS THEIR PRICE FOR SUPPORT, SOCIALISTS INSISTED THE GOJ CONFIRM CATEGORICALLY THAT JAPAN'S THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES WOULD NOT BE VIOLATED EVEN IN THE EVENT OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY AND THAT THE

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GOJ MAKE EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN ASIA.

IN RESPONSE MIKE AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, FONMIN MIYAZAWA PROMISED UNCONDITIONALLY NOT TO PERMIT ENTRY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INDICATED THAT THE GOJ WOULD PURSUE THE QUESTION OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE. DESPITE THESE ASSURANCES, HOWEVER, SOCIALISTS DECIDED NOT TO GO ALONG. MIKI'S DILEMMA IS THAT SAME GESTURES REQUIRED FOR SOCIALIST SUPPORT CONTRADICT CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY CONSERVATIVES IN MIKI'S OWN LDP AS THEIR PRICE FOR BACKING RATIFICATION. CONSERVATIVES INSIST THAT THE US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS BE STRENGTHENED AND THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF POSITIVE DECISION ON ALLOWING INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN TIME OF EMERGENCY BE RETAINED AT LEAST THEORETICALLY.

2. THE OUTLOOK FOR RATIFICATION IS STILL CLOUDY. THE EXPECTED FALL DIET SESSION NOW SEEMS UNLIKELY TO TAKE UP THE ISSUE AND DISSOLUTION SEEMS LIKELY BEFORE ANOTHER SESSION. THIS WOULD MAKE IT NECESSARY TO BEGIN AFRESH THE TORTUOUS PROCESS OF OBTAINING LDP AND OPPOSITION APPROVAL. THE GOJ WILL NOT BE STARTING FROM SCRATCH, HOWEVER, SINCE MUCH OF THE CONSENSUS SO PAINSTAKINGLY CONSTRUCTED THIS YEAR WILL REMAIN INTACT.

3. JAPAN'S POSITION -- FAILURE TO RATIFY TREATY STEMS MORE FROM DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUES THAN JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD NUCLEAR WEAPON PROLIFERATION. A BROAD CONSENSUS OF THE JAPANESE BODY POLITICAL, EXCLUDING ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF THE FAR RIGHT, OPPOSES NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND ADAMANTLY OPPOSES DEVELOPMENT BY JAPAN OF A NUCLEAR ARSENAL. TWO ADDITIONAL FACTORS STRENGTHEN THE CONSENSUS FAVORING NPT RATIFICATION: A) JAPAN'S INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS COMMUNITY IS CONCERNED THAT FAILURE TO RATIFY THE NPT WILL PUT JAPAN AT A SERIOUS DISADVANTAGE IN OBTAINING NUCLEAR FUELS AND MATERIAL; AND B) JAPANESE LEADERS ARE CONCERNED OVER JAPAN'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE SHOULD JAPAN CONTINUE TO FAIL TO RATIFY THE NPT. RESPONDING TO JAPAN'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS, THE MAY NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE ADOPTED JAPAN'S PROPOSAL ON SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES. THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT FURTHER INCREASES PRESSURE FELT BY GOJ LEADERS FOR JAPAN TO PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION. AT SAME TIME, LONG-TERM APPREHENSION ABOUT AMERICAN STAYING POWER IN ASIA, TALK OF SOUTH KOREA OR TAIWAN DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THE SPECIAL STATUS ACCORDED NUCLEAR POWERS, ALL WORK IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS.

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4. CONCERN HAS BEEN EXPRESSED OCCASIONALLY OVER APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN THE US ATTITUDE TOWARD NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. SOME JAPANESE DOUBTED THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO NPT. AGREEMENTS TO SELL NUCLEAR COMPONENTS AND FUELS TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT BY THE FORMER PRESIDENT HEIGHTENED SUCH DOUBTS. SOME JAPANESE ALSO WONDER WHETHER US COMMERCIAL INTERESTS HAVE INFLUENCED USG POLITICS TOWARD MAINTAINING STRINGENT CONTROLS

ON NUCLEAR SALES ABROAD. DESPITE THESE DOUBTS, USG EFFORTS TO TIGHTEN CONTROLS IN VARIOUS FORA RECENTLY AND THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ASSURANCES OF CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO NPT BY PRESIDENT FORD AND THE SECRETARY HAVE LARGELY MITIGATED THESE FORMER DOUBTS.

5. RECOMMEND US POSITION -- WHILE ANY PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT BY THE US OF NPT RATIFICATION DURING MIKI'S VISIT MIGHT BE REGARDED AS PRESSURE TACTICS, A PRIVATE REITERATION OF STRONG USG SUPPORT FOR NPT MIGHT HELP THE PRIME MINISTER IN HIS EFFORTS TO PERSUADE RELUCTANT LDP DIETMEN TO SUPPORT RATIFICATION. WE SHOULD TELL MIKE THAT THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RATIFIED THE TREATY WILL CREATE PRESSURE FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT IN OBTAINING NUCLEAR FUELS AND MATERIALS, TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THOSE WHO HAVE NOT RATIFIED. WE SHOULD EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT JAPAN WILL RATIFY THE TREATY SOON.  
HODGSON

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